

JAMES S. AMELANG

Pujades' *Dietari* and the Forms of Urban Knowledge

RESUM

Jeroni Pujades combinava l'activitat pública d'escriure història, el pasatemps privat de dur un diari, i l'afició de recopilar documents i fonts històriques. Podem trobar altres figures de l'Edat Moderna fent el mateix, i també per les mateixes raons. És destacable, entre aquests, la voluntat de preservar i comentar notícies i altra informació coetània com una manera de participar en la política ciutadana, que comença per recopilar informació mentre es passeja i acaba amb l'escriptura de diverses formes d'història urbana.

ABSTRACT

Jeroni Pujades wrote public history, kept a private diary, and in-between collected historical documents and sources. This brief essay sheds light on his activities by examining other early modern historian-diarists and their reasons for doing the same thing: preserving and commenting on news as a form of participating in civic politics that began with gathering information while walking, and ended with writing diverse forms of urban (and other) history.

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The purpose of this essay is a simple one: to propose an experiment, or more properly, an exercise in contextualization. I wish briefly to examine the case of Jeroni Pujades by looking at who else was doing the same as him, where, how, and why. To that end I will start in the space immediately surrounding him, and then increase the distance, focusing on his figure and work from a broader and more European perspective.

We start in Barcelona. Even though early modern Catalonia boasted a rich tradition of first-person writing, Pujades nevertheless comes across as an idiosyncratic, if not unique figure in his home town. I am not aware of any other contemporary individual who combined the three distinctive and simultaneous facets of his intellectual activity. These are: research, writing, and (partial) publication as a historian; more intimate writing as a diarist; and the devotion of considerable time and effort to collecting and organizing a broad range of historical sources not only from the past but also from the present. The first of these activities was resolutely public; the second was just as clearly private; and the third stood literally between public and private, in that it joined his own personal interests and efforts with the mobilization of a broad network of correspondents within a small and almost exclusively Catalan republic of letters.

Naturally, there were various individuals within his local context who shared in at least one of these activities. Not only was he not the only historian in early modern Barcelona; he was also one diarist among others

within the Principat as a whole, and it is precisely on his diary that I wish to focus.¹ Among his contemporaries in Barcelona who also labored in the vineyard of personal and familiar chronicle we find the following:

— Jeroni Çaconomina, who served as Diputat Reial during the 1587-90 term, and who kept a book of memoirs up to 1603, which included family news as well as information regarding Barcelona, his native city of Girona, and the Principality in general;²

— the scholar Jaume Ramon Vila, who kept a diary from 1596 to 1601;³

— the public notary Joan Castanyer, who wrote a *dietari* from 1609 to 1613, also a typical mix of personal and public news;⁴ and

— the anonymous author of a «diary of events» in Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia from 1577 to 1628 (thanks to its very tight focus on the Audiència, one can guess that the author was a judge on this tribunal).⁵

Beyond Barcelona we can locate several other diary-like texts which overlapped in time with that of Pujades. There is, for example, the *Llibre de memòries* of Pere Pasqual, notary of Perpignan, covering 1595 to 1642. The news he writes down is rather straightforward, and mostly personal up to 1632, when the contents then shift to focus on more public and political events. Pride of place afterward is given to the impact of the movement of troops in Roussillon during this period of hostilities, which culminated in the siege of the city in 1642. We also find a similar book of memoirs by Jeroni Cros, a surgeon from Perpignan, from 1597 to 1639. This too is a fairly uncomplicated record of mostly personal events, with some public

1. J. PUJADES, *Dietari*, ed. J. M. CASAS HOMES, 4 vol., Barcelona, Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1975-1976. Casas Homes' introductory material in vol. I, p. 11- 63 continues to be the fundamental study of this text.

2. Arxiu Històric Municipal, Barcelona (AHMB), Ms. B-29, J. SACIONOMINA, «Llibre de memòries». See now the edition in *Cavallers i ciutadans a la Catalunya del Cinc-cents*, ed. A. SIMON I TARRÉS, intro. A. PLADEVALL I FONT, Barcelona, Curial, 1991, p. 181-253.

3. AHMB, Ms. B-100. When I consulted this manuscript years ago I thought it was anonymous; the identity of the author was revealed to me in E. MIRALLES, «La visió dels ciutadans: els dietaris personals», in E. DURAN and E. MIRALLES JORI (ed.), *La Barcelona ideal i la Barcelona real en la cultura literària de l'Edat Moderna*, Barcelona, Ajuntament, 2003, p. 213-214.

4. Arxiu Històric de Protocols, Barcelona, «Dietari de mi Joan Castanyer comensa dissapte XII da desembre de l'any 1609», manuscript lacking shelfmark when I consulted it in 1985.

5. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 2338, labelled as «Diario de sucesos ocurridos en Cataluña y especialmente en Barcelona», although it is written in Catalan.

matters noted.⁶ And various other texts could be evoked in this regard (two in particular will be mentioned below).

Still, we find no one in the immediate surroundings of Pujades who undertakes the same combination of writing tasks that he does.⁷ Yet if we look beyond the Catalan scene, we do find several other similar efforts. I would go on to suggest that comparing some of these cases with that of Pujades can help us better to understand both his purposes and achievements not only as a historian but also as a citizen. In other words, my aim is to reread Pujades by bringing his writings closer to similar textual ventures within the broader panorama of other European cities at the same moment. At the same time I wish to place emphasis on two questions in particular: his sources and the modes of circulation of the information they contain, and the political valence of the apparently private act of authorship of a diary, both seen within specifically urban contexts. The confrontation I propose is not completely symmetrical; as I mentioned earlier, I have found few cases of other writers who wed the three facets of historian, diarist, and collector of historical sources. But I believe that even in the case of asymmetrical, unbalanced comparisons, we can learn some things that allow us to grasp better the admittedly enigmatic figure that was Pujades.

Three individuals strike me as particularly revealing for this sort of comparison. The first is a writer who at first glance shared little in common with Pujades: the Englishman John Chamberlain, author of a single work, various hundreds of letters written between 1597 and 1614.⁸ The son of a

6. «Mémoires du notaire Pierre Pasqual», ed. P. MASNOU, *Revue d'Histoire et d'Archéologie du Roussillon*, 6, 1905, p. 178-192, 212-223, 245-256, 277-288, 309-320, and 340-352, and J. CROS, «Mémoires d'un chirurgien au XVII^e siècle», ed. PH. TORREILLES, *Revue d'Histoire et d'Archéologie du Roussillon*, 4, 1903, p. 167-182 and 199-215.

7. Perhaps the nearest contemporary in terms of time and space to come closest to combining the three activities of Pujades was the Valencian D. Diego de Vich (d. 1657). In 1626 he took over the *dietari* begun by his brother Alvaro in 1619, and maintained it until 1632. At the same time he wrote (unpublished) works of history, including «Notas y escolios a las obras de Martín de Viciiana», and «Anales de diferentes acaecimientos sucedidos en Valencia y su reino, desde el año 1400 hasta el 1640». Finally, he also left account books (now in the Arxiu del Regne de València), as well as first-person accounts of his travels. For more details, see the introductory material to D. ALVARO VICH and D. DIEGO VICH, *Dietario valenciano, 1619-1632*, ed. F. ALMARCHE VÁZQUEZ, Valencia, Acción Bibliográfica Valenciana, 1921, especially p. xv-xxi.

8. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. MCCLURE, 2 vol., Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1939. There is also a convenient abridged edition: *The Chamberlain Letters*:

wealthy London merchant, he studied at Cambridge, and forged there and elsewhere excellent political and social connections. While his letters registered the most important events at court and in the city, they also offer an impressive amount of very precise particulars on daily life in early Jacobean London. What most caught his attention were political gossip, new laws and fashions, rumors, marvels and other strange events, crimes and punishments, the corruption of politicians, the hypocrisy and greed of lawyers, the treachery of the Spaniards, the books he sent as gifts to friends, and infinite other matters great and small. But Chamberlain did not only take the pulse of an extremely broad range of news. He also enriched this information through his own assessment and commentary. And it is precisely this play between information and evaluation that confers greatest value upon a corpus of writing that might be looked at as the product of the interjection of the first person into what normally circulated in the third.

The second case involves someone who more closely resembled Pujades. Pierre de l'Estoile was a barrister who held a venal office in the Parlement of Paris, and who kept a very detailed journal from 1574 to 1611.⁹ A moderate Catholic, close to the so-called *politiques*, he ran into serious trouble when the radical Ligue triumphed in Paris in 1590; indeed, he was imprisoned for several months. Like Chamberlain's letters, the eleven manuscript volumes of his *mémoires-journaux* cover an impressive range of subjects. While he had a great deal to say about the world of law, and about the institution of Parlement in particular, he also mixed in references to high (and low) politics in and around the court, the royal family, and different

A Selection of the Letters of John Chamberlain Concerning Life in England from 1597 to 1626, ed. E. McCURE THOMPSON, preface A.L. ROWSE, New York, Capricorn, 1966.

9. Originally appearing as P. DE L'ESTOILE, *Mémoires-journaux: édition pour la première fois complète et entièrement conforme aux manuscrits originaux. Publiée avec de nombreux documents inédits et un commentaire historique, biographique et bibliographique*, ed. G. BRUNET et al, 12 vol., Paris, Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1875-1896, it is now being published in a fuller scholarly edition by Droz in Geneva. The first volume of the new series is P. DE L'ESTOILE, *Registre-Journal du regne de Henri III. Tome I. 1574-1575*, ed. M. LAZARD and G. SCHRENK, Geneva, Droz, 1992. I have consulted (and cite below from) an English anthology, *The Paris of Henry of Navarre as seen by Pierre de l'Estoile: Selections from his Mémoires-Journaux*, ed. N.L. ROELKER, Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press, 1958. For an interesting attempt to contextualize l'Estoile's writing practices, see M. E. BLANCHARD, «Fin de Siècle Living: Writing the Daily at the End of the Renaissance», in P. DESAN (ed.), *Humanism in Crisis: The Decline of the French Renaissance*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1991, esp. p. 231-239.

political and religious factions in the city, along with prices, the weather, songs, rumors, gossip and scandals, duels and crimes, obituaries, what have you. Like Chamberlain (and to a lesser extent Pujades), his interest focused resolutely on public matters. Both of them had little to say about their families or their private lives. L'Estoile also resembled his English and Catalan counterparts in not limiting his efforts to recording information. Rather, he added his own opinions and interpretations, which he often marked by placing them in parentheses.

We can find the same, simultaneous combination of the twin roles of informer and commentator on urban events elsewhere in early modern Europe.¹⁰ In Venice, for example, one runs into the well-known case of Marin Sanudo, author of an enormous diary, the printed version of which runs on for 58 volumes.¹¹ Florentines proved especially adept in producing

10. There is now an impressive bibliography on the circulation and evaluation of information in early modern cities, much of it indebted to the pioneering insights of Peter Burke. A quick and highly incomplete checklist would include: A. JOHNS, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998; R. DARNTON, «An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris», *American Historical Review*, 105, 2000, p. 1-35, and his *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 2010; B. DOOLEY and S. A. BARON (ed.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, London, Routledge, 2001; P. BURKE, «Rome as a Centre of Information and Communication», in P. M. JONES and T. WORCESTER (ed.), *From Rome to Eternity: Catholicism and the Arts in Italy, ca. 1550-1650*, Boston, Brill, 2002, p. 253-269; and H. S. TURNER (ed.), *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, New York, Routledge, 2002. Venice has been especially well studied in this regard, which is hardly surprising, given its role as the birthplace of modern journalism. See in particular: P. BURKE, «Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication», in J. MARTIN and D. ROMANO (ed.), *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, p. 389-419; M. INFELISE, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della informazione, secoli XVI-XVII*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2002, and his «El mercado de las noticias en el siglo XVII: las tipologías de la información», in A. CASTILLO GÓMEZ, J. S. AMELANG, and C. SERRANO SÁNCHEZ (ed.), *Opinión pública y espacio urbano en la Edad Moderna*, Gijón, Trea, 2010, p. 153-162; E. HORODOWICH, «The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice», *Renaissance Studies*, 19, June 2005, p. 22-45; M. MESERVE, «News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press», *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59, 2006, p. 440-480; and especially F. DE VIVO, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007.

11. *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, ed. R. FULIN et al, 58 vol., Venice, Deputazione R. Veneta di Storia Patria, 1879-1903. For a useful selection from his works, including a «Laus urbis Venetae» and «De... magistratibus urbis», see M. SANUDO, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae, ovvero la*

dozens of daybooks, memoirs, and family chronicles that functioned as registers of civic news. And in the Iberian Peninsula it is not hard to come up with the same sort of private writing leavened with public purpose. In Barcelona, for example, there is the well-known case of the tanner Miquel Parets. The text he authored was not a diary. Rather, it was a chronicle, a piece of contemporary history fairly removed from the two main types of writing for which Pujades was and is known.¹² What the two Barcelonans did share was the pastime of collecting documents and texts about contemporary events, which in the case of Parets were rewritten (and often translated from Spanish) and then incorporated directly (albeit silently) into the two volumes of his chronicle. And were we to continue extending this textual chain outward, we could find other works which resembled those of the more private-leaning Pujades (in his diary) and the more public-leaning Parets. One closer to the latter was the chronicle of Jeroni de Real, a patrician from Girona who recorded the more important details of civic life there from 1637 to 1680. As was true of Parets, his text contained relatively few personal or familial references.¹³

What *does* resemble Pujades' diary is a similar work by a contemporary from Valencia and our third author for comparison, Pere Joan Porcar. A priest of popular origins, beginning in 1598 he held a benefice in one of the city's central parishes, Sant Martí. He kept a diary from 1589 to 1628, in which he recorded news hailing from throughout the kingdom of Valencia, and especially from the capital.¹⁴ While its contents covered the same broad range of happenings we find in the other texts mentioned above, what is

città di Venetia, 1493-1530, ed. A. CARACCILO ARICÒ, Milan, Ed. Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1980. For excerpts from his diaries in English translation, see M. SANUDO, *Venice, Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, ed. P. H. LABALME and L. SANGUINETI WHITE, trans. L. L. CARROLL, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

12. The first part of Parets' original text is finally available as *Crònica. Llibre II. Volum I*, ed. M. L. MARGALEF, with introductory studies by J. S. AMELANG, A. SIMON and X. TORRES, Barcelona, Editorial Barcino, 2011.

13. J. DE REAL, *La Catalunya del Barroc vista des de Girona. La crònica de Jeroni de Real, 1626-1683*, ed. J. BUSQUETS DALMAU, 2 vol., Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 1994.

14. P. J. PORCAR, *Coses evengudes en la ciutat i regne de València. Dietario de Mossén Pere Joan Porcar, capellán de San Martín, 1589-1629*, ed. V. CASTAÑEDA ALCOVER, 2 vol., Madrid, Góngora, 1931-1932. I cite below from the abridged edition: P. J. PORCAR, *Coses evengudes en la ciutat i regne de València. Dietari, 1589-1628*, ed. F. GARCIA GARCIA, Valencia, Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1983.

perhaps most unusual are his political comments. On several occasions he voices bitter complaints against the social and political elites of the city and kingdom, for their exploitation of the poor, their greed and corruption, their feuds and acts of violence, and above all for their willingness to betray the *pàtria* and its *furs* in exchange for offices, rents, and personal gifts (more on this below).

Having identified these texts and their authors, we can now ask what light do they shed on the apparently idiosyncratic case of Pujades? I will try to answer this question by offering four basic observations.

To begin with, I noted above that at first sight these authors –and perhaps Pujades, Chamberlain and L'Estoile in particular– had few things in common. But there was one thing these three did share, which was the habit of taking walks. We know this because all of them comment on their ambling through their respective cities, Pujades and l'Estoile in their diaries, and Chamberlain in his letters. Their walking moreover shared a common purpose, as in all three cases it served to provide information. To cite just one example: on March 5 1602 Pujades prefaces a juicy piece of political gossip in his daybook by noting that «Era jo present quant dit abbat ho comtava al ardiaca Duran... y al canonje Babau de Leyda ab los quals jo me passejava per la plaça de Sant Jaume».¹⁵ And one can easily find other instances of his specifying the origins of a news item in a conversation which took place during a walk.

Walking was not just good exercise, it was also a regular source of privileged information. It was moreover a practice closely associated with a relatively new figure on the early modern urban scene: the citizen who specialized in seeking out and gathering all sorts of news, including rumors, that is, those individuals known as «intelligencers» or «newsmongers».¹⁶ The locus classicus of this new social type was Ben Jonson's 1625 satirical comedy *The Staple of News*, a splendid literary work from which to study the question of the circulation of information and contemporary attitudes

15. J. PUJADES, *Dietari...*, vol. I, p. 179.

16. I honestly don't know how one would render these terms in early modern Catalan. However, Diego Navarro drew attention in a recent talk (Rome, March 2011, as yet unpublished) to a seventeenth-century text that referred to a spy as a «persona inteligente». This usage seems rather close to the English one to which I allude.

toward this social-cultural novelty. Indeed, the editor of the standard edition of Chamberlain's letters suggests that Jonson may have been alluding to Chamberlain when he mentioned one «grave Master Ambler, news-master of Paul's». I honestly don't know if this holds any water, but what I find most interesting about this attribution is that it is based largely on the total coincidence between the spaces that Jonson singles out as the four «cardinal points» of information in London, and the places that Chamberlain haunted and then mentioned in his letters.¹⁷

I would also note in passing that the fact that «intelligencers» such as Chamberlain were seen as satirical figures invites reflection on the obsessive character of their registering the news. Chamberlain, Estoile, Porcar, Pujades –all of them give the impression of having been monomaniacal pursuers of information, seeking to trap the freshest tidbit of gossip and rumor. In the case of l'Estoile, for example, when reading over his monumental and disordered volumes, it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that he evidently was trying to write down everything that he found written (and much of what was spoken) in the city. Thus, in an enormous favor to future historians of written culture, he systematically transcribed the graffiti he came across during his walks. One typical entry is his finding on August 1 1590 written with charcoal on a wall of the Place St Séverin «Death to the Society of Jews and the Iberian Nation!»¹⁸ One should note that Porcar also shared his interest in graffiti, and wrote down many illegal inscriptions, such as a very intriguing piece of local opposition to Olivares' plans for the Unión de Armas that appeared overnight on March 22 1626.¹⁹

17. The four were: the court in Whitehall; the portico and central nave of St Paul's and the surrounding area, well known for its many bookshops as well as for Paul's Cross, the main preaching venue in the city; the Royal Exchange; and the law courts at Westminster Hall. See *The Letters of John Chamberlain...*, vol. I, p. 6, and A. BELLANY, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 80-83. For the text of the play, see B. JONSON, *The Staple of News*, ed. D. ROWLAND KIFER, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1975.

18. For these and other examples see *The Paris of Henry of Navarre...*, p. 190-191. «Society of Jews» refers to the Jesuits, and to the general belief in Europe that Spain was full of secret Jews. Whoever wrote this slogan was obviously opposed to the Ligue, which was seen by its enemies as an instrument of its Spanish backers.

19. P. J. PORCAR, *Coses evengudes en la ciutat i regne de València...*, p. 263-264.

Once again, I would stress that one finds all four taking on here not just the role of urban informers, and by that I mean finders and keepers of information. They were also what we could call urban revealers, that is, informed individuals who go on to organize, explicate and comment on the news—an important piece of value added that, more than once, comes to the rescue of future historians. Which takes us to a second observation, which is really a linkage that involves communicating the news so laboriously assembled and committed to paper. If we ask, for whom are these hunter-gatherers of data seeking and sorting the news, we are led in two directions, one very definite, the other very diffuse.

Chamberlain's case is crystal clear. He did not write for some undetermined public, nor even for himself. Instead, he labored mightily to sift and craft this news into terse epistolary prose, which he then sent on in the form of letters to two specific readers: Ralph Winwood and above all Dudley Carleton, both diplomats and personal friends of the author. Chamberlain undoubtedly intended his letters to serve as an informational life-line through which his two associates could be kept well informed and up to date on the latest developments at court and in the capital city, which could prove to be of vital importance to them in their ambitions to climb higher on the ladder of royal favor.²⁰

Pujades and l'Estoile had no such concrete interlocutors in mind. To divine their purposes we need to look in another direction. Here I would suggest that we can find a valuable clue in the close ties bet scribbling down news and the singular habit of collecting the writings and news-laden items of others. L'Estoile was well known as a collector in his own time: he owned a private museum, which housed his numismatic cabinet and library, and where he proudly received many visitors. In fact, in 1601 he sold his parliamentary office in order to spend all his time on his library, his coin collection, and his diaries. Yet at the same time he oversaw a parallel

20. I should note for the record that Carleton's letters to Chamberlain survive, and a selection of them has been published as *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624. Jacobean Letters*, ed. M. LEE JR., New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1973. Needless to say, being able to reconstruct such a full circle of correspondence is unusual, and renders this epistolary exchange especially valuable.

effort, a separate collection of documents, which he kept in a series known as *Recueils*.²¹ These included albums of broadsheets, pamphlets, satires, royal proclamations and the like, many of which he enriched with commentaries he wrote in the margins. Pujades did not transcribe external documents in his diary; he *sewed* them in, in between his manuscript folios. Thus we find him physically incorporating in his diary pamphlets, printed legal briefs, and correspondence from friends outside Barcelona. In regard to the latter, one interesting example is the (regretably few) confidential letters he receives from a correspondent at the court in Madrid during the 1620s, Alonso Aguado.²² One should also keep in mind that during much of the time in which he kept his diary, Pujades was not actually in Barcelona, but rather in the Empordà. Keeping up with the news that counted obviously required an extra effort at correspondence, which he duly notes in his manuscript by prefacing entries with notes of letters and other texts received.

The reasons these diarists give for doing all this are especially revealing. Their standard line is that they collect such materials to aid either themselves or others in the future writing of a history of the present. Pujades offers this as the explicit justification of his keeping the *dietari*: as he states in its preface, «axí no podem perpetuar-nos per poder comptar e fer a saber a nostres fills y pòsteros lo que passà en nostre temps, per ço és bé scriurer y dexar continuat lo que vui passa, perquè per medi de la scriptura se puga saber en esdevenidor».²³ And we can find the same in l'Estoile, who frequently inserts comments along the lines of, I copy over this text even though it is very misleading due to its bias, because it contains «many things that are worth knowing... and will be useful when someone writes the history of our times».²⁴

When reading passages such as this, one can't help sitting up in the chair. After all, the authors are talking directly to us. I have suggested above that Pujades and his peers were not just «urban informers». Rather, they added

21. For one example, see *Fragment des Recueils de Pierre De L'Estoile*, ed. I. ARMITAGE, Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1976, a collection of sixteen texts from 1591 on.

22. Josep M. Casas Homs very helpfully transcribed these letters in the appendices to the third volume of his edition of Pujades' diary; see J. PUJADES, *Dietari...*, vol. III, p. 292-302.

23. J. PUJADES, *Dietari...*, vol. I, p. 67.

24. *The Paris of Henry of Navarre...*, p. 37.

a second role or function to the gathering of information, that of «urban revealers», that is, individuals with privileged knowledge who explain and comment on the news they disseminate. The distinction –and this is my third observation– is important. The informer converts his hard-won knowledge of the urban scene into something explicit. The revealer, when he comments on the news, does the same, but implicitly, and at times almost furtively. And for the future historian, this latter interpretive function is much more valuable (and more rare). Pujades himself constitutes an excellent example of this. One of the more unique facets of his diary in the context of early modern Barcelona is the «insider» information he occasionally gives of matters not normally commented on publicly. Perhaps the clearest instances of this come from his remarks on municipal politics (see below for a concrete example). At different junctures Pujades reconstructs the discussions and disputes within the Consell de Cent and other civic institutions, which touch on matters which were not even mentioned in the official daybook (*Dietari*) or minutes (*Deliberacions*) of the city government. His is literally a unique testimony in local history; were it not for him, we would simply not know these things.

Here we reach a new and crucial intersection: the nexus between gathering, redacting, refining, revealing, and commenting on information on the one hand, and the process by which such information is turned into broader reflection through outward communication ranging from writing letters to writing histories on the other. And it is here –the ground of my fourth and final observation– where we finally begin to find references to deeper purposes, one of which is good citizenship.

I must confess that I am not sure if we can find a common label that would fit the political purposes of these three intelligencers. (Or four? It is hard to know exactly where Porcar fits in this schema). One possible candidate comes from the same Catalan context that produced Pujades. In 1679 the jurist Jeroni de Capmany wrote a prologue to Jeroni de Real's chronicle of Girona. When praising the author as a defender of the public interest, he refers to him as a «tant bon repúblic». ²⁵ One certainly does not need to insist on the weightiness of this term in early modern political

25. J. DE REAL, *La Catalunya del Barroc...*, vol. I, p. 12.

discourse.²⁶ At the same time it is important to avoid anachronism, and not to load it with political resonances and affiliations from later periods. Yet whatever synonym we use – «republican», «good commonwealth man», «solid citizen» – one cannot question that among the many resonances of such terms is a linkage with history, or to be more precise, with the widely-shared belief that one of the most important means of promoting or defending a commonwealth was to write its history. Pujades' repeated affirmations along these lines are well known; it is a claim he constantly makes in his different prologues to his historical works, as Eulàlia Miralles has reminded us.²⁷ And once again, the prologue to the Girona chronicle stresses the same connection. Following the reference to Real as a «tant bon repúblic», and after affirming that «la primera obligatió que tenan los hòmens en nàxer, no sols és mirar per si, sinó també per las demés, y en particular per las cosas de la pàtria y per la utilitat», Capmany asserts that an important part of the duties of the «Governadors y Pares de República» is to «mirar per atràs, considerant lo que ha passat y succehit».²⁸ It hardly seems an accident that in the paragraph preceding the one containing this quotation, the learned jurist mentions Pujades, praising him as «lo llum dels historiadors catalans».

When we return to the rest of our protagonists, we find that this confluence of private writing with public purposes winds up generating various textual forms that go beyond the confines of the strictly personal documents with which we started. These intelligencers were authors of diaries and letters, to be sure. But some of them also wrote chronicles, descriptive and analytical works about their cities, and even systematic treatises on the subject of civic politics. This tie, even vocation, is quite obvious in regard to Pujades, who was after all the official chronicler of Catalonia. But not accidentally, we also find the same connection in the case of l'Estoile, whose first known text was

26. Much has been published as of late on republicanism and constitutionalism in early modern political thought. For a comprehensive overview for Spain, see X. GIL, «Concepto y práctica de república en la España Moderna: las tradiciones castellana y catalano-aragonesa», *Estudis*, 34, 2008, 111-148.

27. See her *Sobre Jeroni Pujades*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2010, esp. p. 23-37 and 113-145.

28. J. DE REAL, *La Catalunya del Barroc...*, p. 10 and 12. It should be noted that the first part of this quotation is a passage from Plato which was later reworked in Cicero's *De officiis*, and which Capmany found much closer to home in J. P. XAMMAR's *De officio iudicis, et advocati* of 1639.

a manuscript with the revealing title of «Memoirs to serve for a history of France from 1515 to 1574».²⁹ And perhaps the most complex instance of this penchant for multitasking was Sanudo. We remember him now for his gigantic diaries, which were largely a massive collation of contemporary documents in the form of an ostensibly private textual assemblage. Yet he also spent much of his life writing and revising the chronicle known as the *Vite dei dogi*, along with various other works of history. Above all, it is well known that Sanudo claimed to be devoting so much time and effort to collecting contemporary materials because he planned eventually to write a fully developed history of his own times. In the end, Sanudo did manage to produce at least one formal *laudatio*, along with a formal description and analysis of the workings (past and present) of the Venetian government.³⁰ But that not only he, but also his fellow diarists and collectors Pujades and l'Estoile, all wrote historical works, but never got around to writing the contemporary histories for which they gathered so many sources, is a coincidence worth pondering.

Having gone this far, I would now offer two words of caution. In my darker moments I have the impression that we early modernists as of late have been mesmerized by the public sphere, and that things have gotten somewhat out of hand. We should not lose sight of the basic fact that in that era it was the condition of *privacy*, not publicity, that permitted and protected innovative or dissenting political discourse. This comes across very clearly in an intriguing remark Chamberlain makes in a letter to Carleton on December 8 1598:

You see how confidently I write you of all things. But I hope you keep it to yourself; then there is no danger. I am so used to a liberty and freedom of speech when I converse or write to my friends, that I cannot easily leave it...³¹

29. «Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France depuis 1515 jusqu'en 1574», cited in *The Paris of Henry of Navarre...*, p. 13.

30. For the latter, see his *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae*. More generally on Sanudo as a historian, see the classic article by G. COZZI, «Marin Sanudo il giovane: Dalla cronaca alla storia» in A. PERTUSI (ed.), *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI*, Florence, Olschki, 1969, p. 33-358, as well as the briefer references in E. COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 81-82, 167-169, 226, 229, 230, and 378.

31. *The Letters of John Chamberlain...*, vol. I, p. 59; I have slightly modified the syntax and spelling. The original reads: «You see how confidently I write to you of all things, but I hope you

Here Chamberlain shows himself to be perfectly aware of the need to protect an undefined epistolary sphere that is far more private than public. Moreover, his own example shows that within that sphere, what starts as news becomes political and moral commentary, and one which literally permits itself the liberty of being frank and actually quite negative.

A second caution has to do with the problem of how to characterize the different varieties of citizen culture that these lines of communication sustain. If Pujades, Chamberlain, and L'Estoile can be called commonwealth men, they are the sort who keep their definition of the public good very close to politics, and very far from social questions. Here we brush up against the sort of basic distinction Samuel Glover offers between elite and popular republicanism in his very interesting study of Leveller discourse in the Putney debates of the later 1640s.³² Certainly questions of social provenance and destination mattered greatly in early modern notions of citizenship, especially where the rights of speech were concerned. One can see such distinctions at work in an earlier episode involving terminology. When Sir Thomas Elyot, in his widely-read 1531 *Book of the Governour*, posed the question of how to translate into English the Latin *res publica*, he rejected «commonweal», preferring «public weal» instead. He explained that he found the latter term more neutral, as «commonweal», he argued, was too closely associated with the people –tellingly, «plebs» is the term he uses here– as a social class.³³

Elyot was right to suspect that talk of *res publica* and commonweal could get out of hand and head in unwarranted (from the elite point of view)

kepe yt to yourself and then there is no daunger, and I am so used to a libertie and fredome of speach when I converse or write to my frends that I cannot easilie leave yt». In an interesting parallel, Marin Sanudo simultaneously defended freedom of speech for patricians during meetings of state councils, as well as secrecy and controlling information as a means of self-protection by the same individuals (F. DE VIVO, *Information and Communication in Venice...*, p. 41).

32. S. D. GLOVER, «The Putney Debates: Popular versus Elitist Republicanism», *Past and Present*, 164, Aug. 1999, 47-80.

33. T. ELYOT, *The Book Named the Governour*, ed. S. E. LEHMBERG, London, Dent, 1962, p. 1-5, «The signification of a public weal, and why it is called in Latin Respublica». I first encountered this passage in the interesting discussion by G. BALDWIN in his «The 'Public' as a Rhetorical Community in Early Modern England», in A. SHEPARD and P. WITHINGTON (ed.), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, Manchester, University of Manchester Press, 2000, p. 201-202.

directions. So much is made clear by the following quotation from Porcar, who wrote overcome with indignation at the behavior of the representatives who approved the Unión de Armas at the Valencian Corts of 1626:

En estos desdixats dies concordaren los traditors de la pàtria de donar tirànicament lo donatiu que contra sa voluntat havien extorsits malament e havien promés al rei contra tota justícia, raó i llei... Déu que és molt pacient, misericordiós i justicier l'amostre contra els traïdors i infames a Déu a sa pàtria i als Furs de la terra, que contra els pobres han fet per fer-se mercets a ells, i confia's que Nostre Senyor vengrà sa causa, puix és contra la gent pobre, i al senyor rei dimidiarà los seus dies, que així es llig de molts altres reis que han posat inexonables tributs contra tota llei, raó i justícia, puix ab tanta extorsió i opressió i gravamens los ha obligat amb tants temors i amenaces que els posassen...³⁴

I for one find this an extraordinary passage. The English Levellers and Diggers in the 1640s clearly had no monopoly on genuine radicalism (and this from a parish priest!) And it makes clear that one has to exercise caution when painting early modern ideological fields with the broad brushes of republicanism, constitutionalism, and the like. Once again, I believe that combining the tools of comparison and contextualization can help bring us closer to a more sensitive reading of past political cultures.

At first sight, the political attitudes of Porcar and Pujades seem quite close to each other. They both write quite frankly about politics in their private writings, and express a deep pessimism in which they repeatedly identify politics with corruption and the triumph of private interest. One can even go on to credit them both with a sort of republicanism. In the case of Pujades the most important testimony in this regard is the entry right at the beginning of his diary in which he narrates his triumphant defense of popular representation in the Consell de Cent against strong opposition from the honored citizens and urban gentry.³⁵ Like Porcar's tirade, it is a remarkable statement, and one that has not received the historiographic attention that it merits. Nevertheless, if we compare this

34. P. J. PORCAR, *Coses evengudes en la ciutat i regne de València...*, p. 274.

35. J. PUJADES, *Dietari...*, vol. I, p. 75-79.

passage with Porcar's, we immediately perceive a fundamental difference: that the undeniable republicanism of the Valencian has a social dimension that is lacking in the Pujades variant. The latter's understanding of popular interest strictly hews to the political plane. In contrast to Porcar's social (and frankly more radical) vision, Pujades' perspective is far more limited. More municipal than extramural, and redolent of legal reasoning, it above all contains virtually no social resonance.³⁶

This essay has raised many issues that obviously require more exploration. In the end, its central contention is quite simple. I have constructed an argument in the form of a chain that begins with a certain type of urban walker, and more particularly, with the specific purposes that moved him out of his house, into the city, and then back to his study to record on paper the fact of the walk and what he learned while it was taking place. In other words, our starting point has been walking that was patterned, purposeful, and which left behind a paper trail: the writings of diarists such as Pujades. After the urban information is gathered comes its reformulation into commentary, which still takes place on a personal plane, thanks to the retention of the diary or epistolary format. Yet these literary structures also can open outward in a different but complementary direction, toward a broader effort at collecting sources, which is explicitly justified as preparation for a special type of history, one in which the present is treated as the past. And in certain cases, this literally dutiful writing takes place, and emerges in the form of chronicle and/or city description, both uniquely visible means of participating textually as a citizen in the *res publica*. Pujades was a very complex socio-political figure who ambled down much of this path. But the fact that we can trace the same ordered linkages in the writings of Chamberlain, l'Estoile, Porcar, Sanudo and others left unmentioned suggests that his trajectory, which seems so idiosyncratic in the Barcelonan context, was really not that out of the ordinary, when seen from farther afield. And thus our exercise in contextualization brings us back to our starting point, and to the need to read, reread, and then read once again this fascinating work. *Roda el món, i torna al Born*.

36. There are strong parallels here with the case of Sanudo; for further on this see R. FINLAY, «Marino Sanuto, A Venetian Republican», in his *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1980, p. 251-280.